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INTRODUCTION.

131 The coast line of the Aden Protectorate starts in the west from Ras Murad opposite the island of Perim, and runs eastward to Ras Dharbat 'Ali, which separates it from that of the Sultanate of Muscat and Oman. Roughly speaking, the Protectorate is bounded in the interior on the west and the north by the Kingdom of Yemen and the Great Desert, and on the east by the Qara country which is part of the dominions of His Highness the Sultan of Muscat and Oman. It also includes the island of Soqotra. The Hadhramaut lies in the east of the Protectorate between the Wahidi and 'Aulaqi countries on the west and the Mahra country on the east. North, it reaches to the Empty Quarter.

643 631 The two principal chiefs of the Protectorate are Their Highnesses the 'Abdali Sultan of Lahej and the Qu'aiti Sultan of Mukalla. The capital of the former lies about 20 miles north of Aden and that of the latter some 300 miles east. It will be easily realized that these two chiefs are by their geographical positions the natural leaders of the western and eastern parts of the Protectorate, and the 'Abdali Sultan, who is the premier chief of the Protectorate, has established his hegemony over the western portion. In some ways the Qu'aiti Sultan is perhaps the most important ruler of the Protectorate, for he controls, or has direct influence over, a larger population than any other chief, and, except for the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Soqotra, whose nominal kingdom extends over a much wider area, he rules the largest tract of territory in the Protectorate. Although he is acknowledged by the Kathīri Sultan as having precedence in the Hadhramaut, he has not yet secured recognition by the Wahidi Sultans, or by the Mahra Sultan, as their natural leader.

643 48 636 The whole of the Aden Protectorate is ruled by its own chiefs, who are independent as far as their internal affairs are concerned. Their relations with the Protecting Power are for the most part regulated by treaty, and while their foreign affairs are entirely controlled by His Majesty's Government, interference in matters of domestic concern is generally limited to advice.

121 This report offers a survey of the social and political organization of the Hadhramis and of the resources of their country as seen by the writer. The object of this introduction is to give a brief indication of the present trend of development as it appears to him.

178 185 There is an extraordinary complexity of social and governmental organization in the Hadhramaut. The country is in a transition period between the disappearance or modification of the earlier social organization, which has itself evolved with the centuries, and the development of Government more or less on modern lines.

The various classes of society in the Hadhramaut are described in the report, and the interplay of some of them, one with another, has, in the course of time, as in other countries, given rise to abuses which, as the life and thought of the Middle Ages is influenced

by the increasing current of modern ideas and development, have stimulated from within a desire to shake off the shackles of the old order. To some extent the old order is adapting itself to modern conditions, though there are still, for instance, diehard conservatives among the church party, who, fearful for the disappearance of their power and prestige, cling to a bigotry which refuses recognition to any innovations. While the reactionaries among this class offer a problem to the progressive elements in the country which time will probably solve, there are greater difficulties to be faced in contending with unruly elements among the tribesmen.

Many of these latter have, by emigration, secured sufficient wealth to acquire immovable property, have settled and allied themselves with the townsmen and property-owning Seiyids in a movement to promote peace and safety, but some of the great remainder who prefer a nomadic existence, cling to ancestral habits of raiding, take by force what they cannot buy, or live on blackmail paid by the harassed landed classes to secure immunity. Even the honest carrier is apt to show a more than passive resistance when he fears that the increasing motor transport will deprive himself and his camel of their daily bread.

The surprising modern developments in the Kathīri dominions owe their inception mainly to private enterprise, but in the Qu'aiti state there is superimposed over the curious diversity of social conditions a Government which attempts a compromise between the methods of the west, probably borrowed mostly from Indian contacts, and indigenous institutions.

During the last few years the Hadhramaut has become increasingly known to Europeans. A number of travellers, official and otherwise, have visited the country since the war, and, owing to the Royal Air Force and to an increase of Political staff regular and more frequent contact has been established. A landing-ground at Shibam makes the interior easy of access, for it is now less than five hours from Aden. The appearance of Royal Air Force visitors has largely increased the number of Europeans seen in the main Wadi, so that the large towns there, scarcely visited till a few years ago, seem on the way to becoming, as it were, tourist centres. The Navy, too, play an important part in the dissemination of goodwill and friendship by their visits to Mukalla. Apart from this the constant emigration of Hadhramis to other countries has meant an increasing infiltration of western ideas. The age-long seclusion of the country has gone, and though outside the towns conditions of life are, for the most part, still primitive, the Hadhramaut appears to be changing almost despite itself.

The main problems to be faced in the Hadhramaut are the establishment of friendly relations between the Qu'aiti and Kathīri on a basis of mutual trust and co-operation, and the stabilization of Qu'aiti and Kathīri rule in their respective countries. I could not help the conclusion that many of the things which the Qu'aiti

Sultan 'Awadh dealt with on the same footing as those of the Hadhramaut. 643 171

Although the Indian connection is not a popular one with the indigenous inhabitants of the Hadhramaut, the dominant Yafa'i section of the population finds no objection to it, and it has in fact been the means of the introduction of a more advanced system of Government than any to be found elsewhere in the Protectorate, with the possible exception of Lahej where the enlightened rule of the 'Abdali dynasty again owes much to external influence, namely, to its close proximity to Aden. It has already been sufficiently indicated that Sultan 'Umar and his brother have been largely responsible for many of these improvements. After travelling in the western part of the Protectorate the contrast between the conditions in the Lower Yemen and those in the Hadhramaut are indeed remarkable. I do not think that anywhere else in the Protectorate the power of one authority is to be found extended over such a large area of country. There is a more than embryonic show of good order and organized Government in Qu'aiti territory on the coast, in the Mukalla and Shihr provinces, and up through the Du'an province to the Shibam province. This much I have seen with my own eyes and have observed the close contact between Provincial and Central Governments. From all accounts the condition is the same in the Hajr province. By his system of political arrangements with the tribes in and around Qu'aiti territory the Sultan has done much to make travel secure and easy. He has an army and police force in which discipline and administration are not lacking. 642 185

Apart from this comparatively satisfactory policing of the country, there is a growing tendency to promote educational and other social services in the Qu'aiti dominions, especially in Mukalla and Shihr, and there is in those parts a very colourable imitation of the machinery of western Government.

Although the rule over the Hadhramaut has thus been influenced to a large extent by Indian ideas, and although excessive Indianisation is unpopular with the pure Hadhramaut elements, nevertheless the administration escapes a great deal of unpopularity by its employment of local Arabs and slaves throughout the interior of the country. Even in the Kathīri camp I found that Sultan 'Umar was personally popular, and during his tour through the country he was very well received. 642 177 186 643

The interior of the Qu'aiti territory is now fast catching up with the coast in its connection with the outside world. Recent years have seen far more visitors enter the interior then ever before and they are universally well received. In addition there are connections in the Shibam province with the East Indies, and in the Du'an province with Egypt, Sudan, and Abyssinia. Everywhere there are connections with East Africa, and these are extensive among the Tamimis where I found some indication of a desire for settled administration. 601

185 In all this evident progress which is being made one is conscious of a certain amount of wasted energy. There is certainly some indication of the will to give the people of the country those amenities and services which we consider the right of all people, but the achievement falls considerably short of what it should be, not because the will to achieve is not there, but because of lack of knowledge. It is obvious that education is eagerly desired, such facilities as exist are more than taken advantage of, but the few and crowded schools, although they attempt to model their system on that of Aden, are lacking in many things that could be provided without much extra expenditure. Their shoddiness, no less than the fact that the instruction, despite the enthusiasm of the staffs, lacks enlightenment, seems to me to be due to the want of a guiding hand. In the same way though the necessity of a good water-supply is realized the lack of protection to the water-supply argues only an absence of expert advice. These are but samples of the need for help which one can see in every aspect of the Mukalla administration.

CHAPTER XI.

THE INTERNAL CONDITION OF THE KATHĪRI STATE.

642 The condition of that part of the Hadhramaut remaining under Kathīri influence is in marked contrast to the large extent of survey under Qu'aiti rule or influence. We have to begin our survey of the situation with an entirely different set of premises. It will already have been sufficiently seen that the Kathīris are probably indigenous to the Hadhramaut, or at any rate so long settled there as to have become in every sense of the word sons of the land in which they live. Their dynasty is therefore a native one. At one time they were far and away the predominant people of the whole country and their influence extended beyond its bounds. Gradually, owing to their introduction of mercenaries, it has become less and less, though the present landlocked position of the Sultanate dates from only recent times.

643 Among the Kathīris we find the usual tribal system of election of a Sultan from the members of a family which has gradually become the predominant one of the whole Confederation. The way in which the tribes of the Shenafir Confederation are related to each other and descended from a common ancestor is shown in an appendix.

642 A Sultan who is head of his tribe but not its ruler is unfortunately
643 only too common an occurrence in Arabia, and the position of the Kathīri Sultan is no anomaly. With the gradual curtailment of Kathīri power, differences between the various tribes and clans of the Confederation have tended to become more acute, and nowadays the actual rule of the Āl 'Abdulla is, as will be seen, confined to a couple of towns and a few villages. But this does not

715 and is offered for sale at Al Ghurfa. It has yet, presumably, other chances of featuring in small wars up or down the valley.

[726] 728 669 The situation sounds almost incredible, but the war continued for several years. At last Sultan 'Ali supported by the Al Kaf Seiyids, the strongest influence for peace in Kathīri territory, thought matters had gone far enough, and invited the disputants to Seiyun to conclude a peace. The terms suggested were agreed to on all points except for one requiring Bin 'Abdat to demolish two small forts. The matter appeared to have reached a deadlock when a Seiyid of Aden, of Hadhramaut origin, Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman al Jifri, proceeded to the Hadhramaut and offered his services in the settlement of the trouble. He is a friend of Bin 'Abdat's, and Seiyids 'Abdur Rahman and Bubekr al Kaf sent him to Bin 'Abdat to advise him not to hold out on account of the two small forts. Matters were probably ripe for a settlement as everybody was tired of hostilities, but Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman very creditably brought the feud to a satisfactory conclusion. What was even more satisfactory was that a gathering of more than a hundred representatives of all sections of the Shenafir was held at Seiyun, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman succeeded in assisting Sultan 'Ali, backed by the Al Kaf Seiyids, to negotiate a truce between all the Shenafir tribes. This agreement, which takes effect from the 1st of Sha'bān 1353 (9th November 1934) provides for a truce of two years and two months in all matters relating to blood feuds between the various tribes, and gives also a guarantee of five years security for travellers on the routes.

643 • 185 565 It may thus be that the foundations have now been laid for an era of peace in Kathīri land, and the time seems to be propitious for the establishment of a greater solidarity in Kathīri rule. There are certainly strong elements in favour of peace. Foremost of all is Sultan 'Ali himself. He is a man of culture and very charming personality with that kind of magnetism which inspires instinctive respect and affection. I do not think anybody who has met him can fail to receive the impression that he is a good man in the best sense of the word, nor can anyone who has discussed the situation with him fail to be impressed with the earnestness of his desire for peace. In this desire he is warmly and ably supported by many of the leading families, of whom the most important are the Al Kaf and Saqqaf Seiyids. Although they are Seiyids the measures of reform which these families support are many of them in flagrant opposition to the old conservative policy of the Seiyids, which for long maintained that body as the most powerful and the most desperately retrogressive party in the Hadhramaut. These families have shown that they can still play a very important part in the destinies of the country, and have in fact earned the right to speak in common voice with the Sultan in pressing reforms. It may also be observed that they are the heaviest, as well as the most willing, [651] taxpayers in the country. Their annual contributions on Government and charitable undertakings amount to at least $70,000 a year, without considering special expenditure.

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year, without considering special expenditure. It is fortunate that these families give attention to the affairs of Government and have been able to help to place the administration of the town of Tarim, for example, on a business footing. The families include men of considerable wealth who have made fortunes in Singapore where they own a lot of property acquired and developed in two generations. The Al Kaf family, who, by the way, are mostly British subjects, pay (I give the figure from memory) 120,000 Straits dollars a year in taxation in Singapore, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman, the head of the family, is a Justice of the Peace.

But it is not only among the wealthiest members of the community that there are signs of a growing desire for peace and progress. I have recorded elsewhere that, as well as in Qu'aiti territory, there are tribesmen of the Shenafir who have expressed a desire for settled administration and stated their willingness to pay taxes. As a whole the Kathīri people are the most wealthy of the inhabitants of the Hadhramaut. Their wealth is very largely derived from the East Indies, and principally from the Dutch colonies; but, as will be seen in the part of this report dealing with emigration, the Hadhrami wherever he settles is always a Hadhrami, and he looks on his beloved valley as a home to which he wishes to return. Abroad under a British or Dutch aegis he acquires a taste for peace and security. The money he makes he sends home, and, as stated elsewhere, the amount remitted from the East Indies is about seven lakhs of rupees a month. Once he has acquired property he ceases to be a Beduin with nothing to lose and becomes a landed proprietor with a large and expensive residence which he does not wish to see destroyed.

I have said that the Qu'aiti need guidance in their very creditable schemes of progress, the Kathīri want it in order to achieve peace and security.

CHAPTER XII.

QU'AITI-KATHĪRI RELATIONS.

Between Qu'aiti and Kathīri there is, unhappily, profound mistrust. This, however, can be well understood when the history of the country is understood, and when it is remembered that old hates in the East generally remain fresh long after the events which gave rise to them have passed. The Kathīri, not unnaturally, has cherished a grudge against the people who deprived him of what was once his country. The Qu'aiti retains a fear that he may yet lose what he has so hardly won. He realizes no doubt that except for British backing, which has sometimes been erratic in its application, it might well be possible for the Kathīris, original owners of the country, to call to their aid the other indigenous people of the Hadhramaut, including their old allies, and drive out the invader. The Qu'aiti also cherishes, perhaps, the hate that one party often bears towards the party it has wronged.

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These sentiments I believe to be at the back of the unsatisfactory state of affairs between the two parties. They became accentuated by the Kathīris losing a seaport. Once they became land-locked, they felt themselves even more at the mercy of those who control the ways in and out of the country. The Qu'aitis, on their side, felt that with the seaports they could prevent the Kathīris from again becoming a menace. The inevitable result of this policy on the part of the Qu'aitis was intensified dissatisfaction and resentment on the part of the Kathīris.

Some 20 or 25 years ago they came to the conclusion that the state of affairs could no longer be borne. It was resulting in a neglected condition of the country and increased anarchy in the interior. All the revenue went into the pockets of the authority holding the seaports, and nothing was done in the way of improvements to the roads or to the development of the country. At this time there was little or no intercourse between the British and the Kathīri. The Qu'aiti had long been under British protection and had proved a loyal and faithful friend. Not unnaturally he was given support and in the usual way dealings with a tribe not in treaty relations were eschewed. Nevertheless the Kathīri would have preferred British assistance. As it was not forthcoming it is said that at different times he made advances to other powers, and the Turks, Dutch, Italians and French have been mentioned to me.

In due course we began to take an interest in the matter, and finally the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement of 1918 was negotiated with the approval of His Majesty's Government. I do not propose to comment on this treaty (which is reproduced for convenience sake in an appendix) except to say that it seems to me admirable in its sentiments, particularly in its requiring the parties to co-operate in measures for the common benefit of the Hadhramaut. As far as the British Government was concerned its effect was to bring the Kathīris under British protection through the medium of the Protectorate treaty with the Qu'aitis. It also provides for the settlement of disputes between the two parties by the British. If the treaty could have been fulfilled in letter and spirit, all would have been well.

Apart from the fact that the Qu'aiti had been a loyal friend to the British, and that it would on that ground have been a mistake to upset his paramount authority in the Hadhramaut, any arrangement which set up two independent authorities in the Hadhramaut would be a mistake. The evil consequences of splitting up a country by means of separate treaties sought or granted on insufficient information are well exemplified in the case of Upper Yafa'. The Hadhramaut is economically and geographically a single unit, and its prosperity depends on the fullest co-operation between the party that controls the ports and the party that is paramount in the interior. It has often been said that co-operation of this sort is not in the Arab genius, but economic forces are often more potent

than purely ethnographical considerations, and I certainly believe that with some assistance the present trend of progress in Qu'aiti territory and desire for peace and development in Kathīri territory could be co-ordinated to a common end.

So much for the treaty.* Unfortunately the spirit of it has not as yet been carried into effect. Mistrust still reigns supreme. This mistrust insists on the fulfilment of such a condition as correspondence by the Kathīris with the British being conducted through Qu'aiti channels. If the mistrust did not exist, this provision would be a natural one tending to the facility of the conduct of public business. On the other hand, such provisions as that requiring co-operation remains a dead letter, and any attempts to secure progress by the Kathīris seem doomed to obstruction by the Qu'aitis.

In October 1927, and May 1928, conferences were held at Singapore in which measures were discussed which might lead to the improvement of the two states, and proposals were even brought forward for the institution of an assembly composed of representatives of both states to " scrutinize the budget ", and concern itself with the interstate co-ordination of certain departmental activities. These conferences were of course not likely to have any far-reaching result, but they were interesting as showing the ideas that were being imbibed by Kathīri emigrants in the advanced environment of the Straits Settlements. Such democratic concepts, however, were not likely to find favour at the present stage of development of thought in the Hadhramaut.

In 1929 the Kathīri Sultan drew attention to the lack of co-operation and the difficulty of introducing schemes of reform, and he proposed that a conference should be assembled to discuss the matter. The Qu'aiti to whom the matter was referred expressed his readiness to hold such a conference, but although the idea was encouraged it subsequently came to nothing and was eventually postponed *sine die*.

Shortly before my visit to the Hadhramaut Sultan 'Umar made his state tour of his domains and of Kathīri territory. He was received everywhere with acclamation and appears to have played the role of beneficent prince. He was presented with a petition asking for reforms. Certain abuses were mentioned in the petition, and, in particular, attention was called to the fact that although taxes were heavy they were not applied to the benefit of the subjects. There were also complaints of insecurity and the unrestricted traffic in arms. The petition recited the conclusion of the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement of 1918 and several others since concluded by Qu'aitis and Kathīris. The part of the petition dealing with these further documents is as follows :—

" The next treaty between both Governments was concluded on 10th Shawāl 1336 (1918). There followed also a third pact, which was concluded on 30th Dhu'l Qada 1336, between the Qu'aiti Government on the one part and the Āl Tamim on the

* [Qu'aiti – Kathiri agreement of 1918 – Analyst]

664 other concerning the protection of goods belonging to the sub-
185 jects. There is also a fourth pact wherein Your Highness undertook to take action against any party that should transgress against another party, to punish the offenders, restore looted property, and check the transgressors, according to this treaty, until such time as God wills. This treaty is dated 13th Jumād ath Thani 1342 (1923). It also embodies other conditions which have not been carried into effect.

"A fifth treaty was likewise concluded between Seiyid Hussein bin Hāmid al Mihdhār, representative of the Qu'aiti Government, on the one part, and the Sultan of the Āl Abdulla on the other, on 25th Ramadhan 1344 (1925). Thereafter an agreement was concluded between both the Governments, the Qu'aiti and the Āl 'Abdulla, on the one part, and the Āl 'Awāmir on the other. This pact is dated 12th Rajab 1345 (1926), and in it the Āl 'Awāmir undertook not to interfere with travellers belonging to either Government, or with other travellers, within their respective boundaries, even though they might happen to be in a state of war. This is the sixth pact.

"There is also a seventh treaty between Sultan Salih bin Ghalib bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti on the one part, and the Sultans of the Āl 'Abdulla on the other. The first Article provides that: 'Both Governments should co-operate to bring about a settlement, and maintain peace and security, and set at rest all agitations and disturbances by any means which will lead to conciliation. In the event of the said measures not being successful they should use all possible power to enforce the same.' In the fourth Article it is laid down that 'Both Governments shall endeavour to take the necessary measures for the security of the routes, and the protection of the poor and others from the effect of the strife and fighting which invariably occur between the tribesmen.'"

The petition bore sixty signatures of the leading inhabitants of the Kathīri part of the valley, and purported to speak on behalf of the "Hadhrami nation". It was addressed to the Qu'aiti and Kathīri Sultans. I do not think that the petition was intended to be on behalf of the inhabitants of the Qu'aiti domain but it was rather directed against the working of Qu'aiti policy *vis à vis* the Kathīri. It was rejected by Sultan 'Umar on the ground that the petitioners were not representative, but it was supported by the Kathīri Sultan.

651 As regards taxation, the position is that goods entering the country
653 are taxed at Mukalla. If they are intended for the Kathīri part of the valley they are often taken by sea to Shihr where they are taxed again. None of this money is used in maintaining security on the road from Shihr to Tarim, and none of it is used to improve communications for the people by whom it is paid. The Al Kaf Seiyids have spent $180,000 in attempting to build a Tarim-Shihr

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and so on, they were pathetically unable to live in their own country without quarrelling. In 1937 I managed to persuade the warring tribes to try a period of truce and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultans asked for me to be appointed as their adviser. From then on an effort has been made to build up local Governments and an advisory system has been evolved in both those States and in the Wahidi Sultanates.

It is the purpose of this paper to describe the methods used in building up State government and social services in the Hadhramaut and in order to illustrate them I propose to describe their development in the Qu'aiti State. This is by far the biggest area in the country and has the largest revenue. For these reasons more time has been given to it than the other areas and the co-operation of the Sultan and his people has been so complete that considerable progress has been made.

The State covers an area of about 50,000 square miles, divided into five *liwas* each with a governor. It has a population of about 200,000 and the capital is the sea port of Mukalla (population today about 25,000), the largest port in South Arabia between Aden and Muscat. The old capital was Shihr, another port some forty miles east of Mukalla, and that is why the Sultan includes the name in his title. The present ruler is His Highness Sultan Sir Salih bin Ghalib al Qu'aiti, K.C.M.G., who succeeded in 1936.

Status of Great Britain in the Hadhramaut

Until 1937 British relations with the Qu'aiti State depended on a treaty of 1888 in which the British Government extended to Mukalla and Shihr and their dependencies the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen Empress. In return for this the rulers undertook to refrain from entering into any relations with any foreign Power except with the sanction of the British Government, and to give notice of the attempt by any other Power to interfere with the country. In 1937 I negotiated a treaty with the Sultan by which His Majesty's Government agreed to appoint a resident adviser to the Sultan and the Sultan agreed, for the welfare of his State, to accept this advice in all matters except those concerning Muhammadan religion and custom. This treaty was based on those entered into with rulers of Malay States, and when Sir Bernard Reilly signed the treaty on Friday, August 13, 1937, he addressed to the Sultan a Note referring to the treaties with the Malay rulers. This Note explained first of all that it was by no means the intention of His Majesty's Government to reduce the powers of the Sultan to insignificance, and made it clear that the treaty would be worked in the same way as similar treaties with Malay rulers. It went on to say there had been very few cases of material disagreement between the ruler and the adviser in Malaya and that the advice to be given to His Highness in all matters of internal concern would be based solely on the adviser's view of the interests of the State and of His Highness. It had been the policy of His Majesty's Government, the Note said, to maintain the authority of the ruler in all such matters. It said that in foreign affairs the case was somewhat different because by

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Hurricane fighter and a mobile canteen for blitzed areas in England. The women of Mukalla have made bandages for the Red Cross in Egypt regularly since 1942.

That is a brief comparison between the Qu'aiti State in 1936 and in 1944: and progress has been made in other ways too. In case the picture seems too favourable, it should be remembered that the famine, due to the loss of over £600,000 a year in remittances from Singapore and Java, seven years' drought, the difficulty of getting food and its high price, the loss of 50 per cent of the working camels, and the difficulties of shipping, has had a very grave effect on the country, but has on the whole hit the interior rather than the coast. His Majesty's Government came to the rescue by voting over £300,000 for famine relief, and by providing air transport for grain, but in dealing with the progress of the Qu'aiti State it is right to record that the Government and the merchants have done their best, and the 1944 estimates included about three lakhs of rupees for famine relief, both by direct grants and by the provision of public works. A voluntary cess by merchants on their imports, the contribution by Government servants of 1 per cent of their salaries, and other charitable efforts raised a fair amount more; and soup kitchens, infirmaries and so on were provided at the coast for refugees from the interior.

Nature of the People and Country

Before describing the methods used in building up the Qu'aiti administration, something must be said about the nature of the people and their country to explain why unusual methods were required. The Hadhramaut is in many ways different from the rest of Arabia, from which it is for the most part separated by desert on all sides, but since it has a seaboard its people have always been able to find a living across the sea. They have had to do this because most of the 70,000 odd square miles of the country is irreclaimable desert and it is unlikely that it could ever support more than a quarter of the population. In other lands they have come to know Western rule but for the most part it has had few attractions for them. They generally find the trammels of an ordered life irksome, and throw them aside as happily as they drop their tarbushes and tussore suits for a waist cloth and indigo when they come back.

The nature of the country provides an explanation of the nature of the people. The vast and barren areas of mountain and jol have bred in the bedouin a deep sense of freedom and an unwillingness to yield it to anyone, for it is all he possesses. In the deep valleys of the hinterland the horizon is bounded by walls a thousand feet high and this has bred in the people an exclusiveness which it would be hard to find elsewhere. In the towns and villages of these valleys a most particular form of religion has grown up. There is none of the free brotherhood of Islam, but a system of classes of seiyids, of settled tribesmen with few of the virtues of the desert bedouin, of money-lending immigrant Yafa'i tribesmen from the west, of descendants of African slaves, of merchant townsmen, and of hard working

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and the people are natural Muslims having learnt in a hard school absolute submission to the will of God. Religious fanaticism is strongest where the seiyids are strongest. In other places there is greater tolerance and, among the bedouins, it is what a man is rather than what his religion is that counts.

When we started everybody wanted independence. Many of the old secluded seiyids, whose ideas of independence merely amounted to the exclusion of infidels, had sons and relations who read the Egyptian papers and their ideas of independence were based on grandiose schemes of complete self-government. Some of them, who thought themselves moderate, demanded no more than independence on the Egyptian and Iraqi models and talked airily of Parliaments and so on. In Singapore and Java in 1939 I had petitions presented to me three times demanding this sort of independence. Once at Solo the deputation was pointed out to me as representative: it contained seiyids, tribesmen and a Sultan of the Kathiri family. Only the last had ever been in the Hadhramaut. He asked me if he might see me privately after the meeting and then asked me to arrange independence for Jahiz. Jahiz was his village in the Wadi 'Amd and consists of five houses. The tribesmen, settled and bedouin, wanted independence; the bedouin claim was at least easy to understand for all it amounted to was that their freedom in the hills and deserts should be undisturbed. The settled tribesmen were and are more difficult. Every little section considered itself independent, and the more powerful, who could afford not only to arm themselves but to buy and arm private forces of slaves, did all they could to extend their boundaries at the expense of their neighbours.

The strangest example of this kind of campaign was that of the Bin 'Abdat section of the Kathiri tribe, who own much landed property in Singapore and Java. The treaty chief of the Kathiris is the Kathiri Sultan whose capital is Seiyun. About 1928 the head of the Bin 'Abdat section forcibly occupied the walled town of Al Ghurfa, belonging to some unarmed sheikhs. This brought him into conflict with the Kathiri Sultan, who was supported by the Qu'aiti Sultan, and with the neighbouring heads of other Kathiri sections. War ensued which carried on with little interruption till 1937. Bin 'Abdat built up a respectable force of slaves and tribesmen of his own and constructed an elaborate system of forts and trenches which extended right across the Wadi Hadhramaut some three miles or more, and almost to the Qu'aiti-Kathiri boundary at Shibam. In the course of the fighting, a curious armoured vehicle was imported from Java, which was intended to be towed by a motor car into the enemy camp. Bin 'Abdat acquired a very large stock of ammunition and really good rifles at very high prices. The Qu'aiti Sultan brought artillery, ancient and modern, to the aid of the Kathiri, but no decision was ever reached.

When I came to the Hadhramaut in 1936 Bin 'Abdat instructed his lawyer in Singapore to address a letter to the Government in which he claimed to be an "independent rajah." He was informed that the only recognised treaty chiefs in the main Hadhramaut were the Qu'aiti and

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

669 Kathiri Sultans and that he was the recognized head of a Kathiri section
648 subordinate to the latter. In 1937 after a lot of persuasion he subscribed to the three years truce. This chief loyally kept the peace and helped in maintaining peace till his death early in 1939, when he was succeeded by an irresponsible nephew who after visiting Java and Singapore to collect his inheritance, returned to Hadhramaut determined to extend his boundaries and influence.

In 1939 my wife and I also visited the East Indies and while in Batavia were entertained by the Bin 'Abdat family at a tea and cocktail party at the Hôtel des Galleries, a large modern hotel belonging to the family. Round the walls of the room in which the reception was held were pictures of Al Ghurfa labelled "Al Ghurfa in the Hadhramaut over which this family has fought so long."

Late in 1939 the new Bin 'Abdat started fresh operations. He extended his fortifications and subsidized a large bedouin tribe, the Hamumis, amongst whom the Government was trying to make peace, to make the then one motor road unsafe and to oppose the Government in every possible way. A good deal of fighting ensued in which both the Hamumis and the Qu'aiti troops had casualties. He also brought Hamumi bedouins as his soldiers into the Wadi Hadhramaut itself where they made the road unsafe for travellers. He arrested and maltreated persons who had recourse to the Sultan in their troubles. The Sultans were supported by His Majesty's Government and action was taken against him. He submitted in May 1940, but did not observe the condition he had accepted and until the fall of Singapore and Java eventually caused his funds to dry up, was always a source of trouble. For it was the profits of the hotel and rents of his properties in the Far East which had enabled the family to keep their wars going. Many Hadhrami chiefs did the same thing, but none on the
627 Bin 'Abdat scale. And when litigants in Java lost their cases in the Java Courts it was not unusual for them to repay their opponents in the Hadhramaut by having their families shot or their homes burnt.

631 There were supposed to be only two Governments in Hadhramaut, the
619 Qu'aiti and Kathiri, but in fact there were about two thousand—the fourteen hundred tribes and sections who had signed the truce and several hundreds more of independent villages ruled by mansabs and sheikhs.

• 185 It was considerations such as these that I had to bear in mind when I thought of the kind of organization which would be most likely to succeed in the Hadhramaut. The only things that seemed to offer a favourable opening were a widespread desire for peace and a genuine anxiety on the part of the Sultan for improvements in Governmental and social services. Apart from these factors I had the instruments I have referred to, and the general indication that one should try to follow as far as possible the methods adopted in the Unfederated Malay States, to guide me in forming an organization.

3:Smith J-3 (no date)1953 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

together. Kathiri economy is almost wholly dependent on funds remitted to Seiyun and Terim from extensive Far East business holdings of great Kathiri families like the House of al-Kaf. Over a century ago, branches of these families emigrated to Singapore and Java in search of happier livelihoods than those provided in their own infertile homeland. Today, vast blocks of property in metropolitan Singapore and Jakarta are held by scions of these early Hadhrami entrepreneurs. Estimated revenue from such holdings has been put at $2,500,000 yearly.[9]

East Indian influences are by no means solely fiscal. Malay is virtually the court language at Seiyun and certainly the common tongue among the educated classes. The routine dress of a Kathiri gentleman is a high-collared tunic reminiscent of the Indian *sherwani* and worn over a sarong.

The most casual survey of this unlikely country would be incomplete without mention of that extraordinary old patriarch, Seyyed Sir Bubakr al-Kaf, K. B. E., present head of the al-Kaf family. If a whole country can be said to live under the shadow of one man's private charities, the Kathiri State is it, with Sir Bubakr the personification of the seignioral patron. Though in his seventies, he is still the dominating personality of the Hadhramaut and his millions the source of much of its prosperity. In 1937, he built the first motorable road from Shihr, on the Hadhramaut coast inland to Terim, a distance of a hundred miles, thus providing convenient egress over a route previously negotiable only by camel and requiring many days travel time. Today, Aden Airways Ltd., operates a regular plane service between Aden Colony and Hauta, in Kathiri territory. In addition, Sir Bubakr is responsible for much of the state's urban electrification, many of its medical services, schools and, yes, even cinemas. It is in large measure due to his efforts that the Kathiri State of Hadhramaut stands today on the threshold of the twentieth century.

[9] W. H. Ingrams, *Report on the Social, Economic and Political Conditions in the Hadhramaut.* London: Colonial Office, 1936.

Halfway up from the coast to the top of the Jol, on the road from Mukalla to Tarim, there is a small spring in a coconut grove where agricultural Bedouins live. These people obtain part of their meager income by collecting and selling herbs that are said to grow only in this vicinity as well as from a flock of goats and from coconuts. They are semi-cave dwellers and have walled up with loose stones rock ledges lacking sufficient overhang. The tribe is deft at making coconut-fiber rope, which they prepare for braiding by carefully pounding the fiber on a rock with a wooden mallet. Here a market comes to the door in the form of caravans going to or from Tarim, and to them the rope is sold or traded.

Emigration and Immigration

Lack of employment and overpopulation in the Hadhramaut have caused large-scale emigration to both the east coast of Africa and the Malay States. Even abroad the tribes show a tendency to congregate, with the result that emigrants customarily establish foreign residence with their relatives and friends. Many Hadhramis return, so that today, after a long period of both emigration and immigration, Malay has become a "second language" in the Hadhramaut.

Some have acquired riches, but no one has expended them in a more notable fashion than Seiyid Abu Bekr al Kaf. His family acquired wealth in Singapore and then returned to the Hadhramaut with the hope that through its efforts the cultural and material status of the region might be improved. Donations were made to the poor, city slums bettered, roads constructed; and small English automobiles, transported by camel across the plateau and assembled in the valley, were introduced. An elaborate guesthouse in Tarim and another in Seiyun were constructed, equipped with imported European furniture, and stocked with food and servants so that a foreign visitor might know that accommodation meeting his standards and needs was available. Recently a difficult truck and automobile road between Tarim and the coast, a distance of 170 miles, was completed by the Al Kaf family without outside assistance and at the cost of many thousands of pounds, to connect the hinterland with the more advanced and better-developed and more easily accessible coastal region. However, the greatest humanitarian achievement in the modernization program of the Hadhramaut, that of the termination of age-old tribal warfare and the spread of peace, was not long ago brought about by Mr. Ingrams, assisted by the influential and wholehearted coöperation of the Al Kaf family. At last the incredible, unceasing warfare of the Hadhramaut, where villages only a few hundred yards apart blazed away at each other month in and month out, has stopped, and caravans are no longer sacked by raiding parties.

THE HADHRAMI BEDOUIN LEGION

By A. M. CLARK HUTCHISON

DURING the past year the Jordan Arab Legion has been much in the news. Its activities in Iraq and Syria in the world war, its picturesqueness, and the fact that of all the Arab forces operating in Palestine the Legion was the only one to gain successes, have all helped to focus attention on it. Not so many people, however, have heard of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion, a small local security force in the eastern part of the Aden Protectorate. This force, no more than a miniature army, is modelled on the Arab Legion.

Ten years ago in that area of the Aden Protectorate known as the Hadhramaut conditions were far from peaceful. Although the two leading rulers in the country, the Sultan of the Qu'aiti State of Shihr and Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan in Seiyun, exercised certain control and powers over their lands, nevertheless there existed in adjacent regions and frequently within their own boundaries much raiding, looting, and inter-tribal quarrelling. Trade was at a standstill. Camel convoys were attacked, such roads as existed were often cut, and personal risk to a traveller was serious. All hopes of progress or agricultural development were reduced to nothing.

Britain was already in protectorate treaty relationship with the Sultans, but no political work had been undertaken in the area which was far from Aden. Air communications improved the outlook, and in the winter of 1936-37, as a result of careful planning and much detailed political work on the spot, the tribes great and small agreed to make peace and adjustments, required by all, were made concerning property, blood money, and other rights.*

At this point His Majesty's Government, on the advice of its representatives in the area, decided that a policy of assisted development was desirable, and adviser treaties were welcomed by the Sultans.

From this time on the civil administration was to gain in power and respect. The police and local military formations already in existence were inadequate for use in areas nominally under close state control. Their reorganization was undertaken with Indian N.C.O.s, and for use in the Bedouin areas Mr. W. H. Ingrams proposed the raising of a new force. After studying the organization of the Transjordan Arab Legion, and with the co-operation of Glubb Pasha, who arranged the loan of N.C.O.s, he raised the new force on January 1, 1940, and named it the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion. With the exception of the period from June, 1940, to March, 1942, he remained in control of the force and its development until June, 1944, when it had forts in the more important Bedouin areas and an educational system which included boarding-schools for Bedouin boys and girls.

* Cf. Harold Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles* (London, John Murray, 1942), pp. 243 ff.

14: van der Meulen T-4 (1931) 1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

cost was paid by him. The way across the mountains is fantastically dangerous, but an expert chauffeur with a first class auto seems to be able to pass over it without any accident. I made up my mind, however, not to risk it again, and on the way back to follow the longer way round through the *wādī*. The mountain road was constructed at a time when it was impossible, owing to hostilities, to pass through the level country.

From the 27th of May until the 7th of June we were in Terīm as the guests of Sayyid Abu Bakr Al Kāf. As a Sayyid he has no official part in the government of his country, but actually he is the man who is now doing most for his country and people. It was he who founded the schools at Makalla, at ash-Shihr, at Dō'an and in the towns of the Wādī Hadramaut, and it is he who supports them; it was he who made possible the transport of the first automobiles from the coast to Terīm, along the great road which he is now engaged in constructing. He is the man who constructed the automobile road from Terīm to Sēwun, and it is he who gives generously to thousands of the poor, to whom he has food supplied every Thursday evening. Terīm is the town for religion and learning; once it was the most important town of Hadramaut, and it is again on the road to become that. It is a town with a multitude of mosques and dozens of palaces, in which are living those families the members of which were able to amass millions of money in Java and at Singapore. The home of Sayyid Abu Bakr is the place where religious and political leaders meet one another, and where the future of the country is discussed.

Thanks to the help of our host, we were able to make a trip to Sūne, the center for archæology, and finally to attain our most distant goal by being able to visit the central sanctuary of Hadramaut, namely, the grave of the prophet of Allah, Hūd, and to explore the mythical abode of the souls of the unbelievers, Bīr Barhūt. The tomb of Hūd (Qabr Hūd) is the Mecca of Hadramaut and of the surrounding countries. For three days in

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

houses whose semi-Malayan architecture contrasts forcibly with the austere and simple lines of the buildings of native Arab design. These well-to-do people have seen the benefits of law and order in foreign countries, but they found themselves powerless to introduce them among the warring tribes of the Hadhramaut. The country thus presented a strange intermixture of civilized opulence and tribal turmoil. It was at length realized by themselves that these evils could be cured only by foreign intervention, and they appealed insistently to the Protecting Power to interfere. The situation was complicated by the political division of the country between the Quaiti Sultan of Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun, whose traditional jealousies added to the general confusion.

It was evident to the British authorities that the whole problem presented by this part of the Protectorate needed careful examination before any effective action could be taken by the British Government, and Mr. W. H. Ingrams was deputed by the Colonial Office to study it. His very valuable report formed the basis on which British policy in the country has since been developed, and his appointment as Resident Adviser to the Quaiti and Kathiri Sultans opened a new chapter in the history of the country. Backed by the strength of the Royal Air Force, whose timely punishment of a notoriously lawless tribe gave general satisfaction, he was able to negotiate a network of truces which brought to an end the internecine warfare that was ruining the land, and with the assistance of a small but energetic political staff he was able to inaugurate reforms that are bringing order out of chaos in the Quaiti and Kathiri States. Mr. Ingrams is now Chief Secretary at Aden, but his work in the Eastern Aden Protectorate is being continued by his successor at Mukalla, Mr. Joy.

In the western half of the Protectorate there was not the same demand for reform, because there was no correspondingly large section of the community with wealth and culture and an acquaintance with the advantages of regular and orderly government. Progress has therefore been slower, but the efforts of the British Government to promote peace and internal security have been ably assisted by our loyal friend the Sultan of Lahej, the premier chief of the Protectorate.

The patient work of Colonel M. C. Lake, the Political Secretary at Aden, and of the political officers under his direction has borne fruit in a general amelioration of conditions, and the creation of Government and tribal guards to supplement air control has helped in establishing security on the trade routes and in bringing peace to districts that had long been distracted by blood feuds and brigandage.

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
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long been distracted by blood feuds and brigandage. An energetic Agricultural Officer appointed by the Colonial Office has initiated experiments that are producing very promising results on the Audhali plateau to the north-east of Aden, and in other districts where water is available for irrigation. Medical and educational progress is as yet only in its initial stage, but a beginning has been made in the establishment of local dispensaries, and the institution at Aden of a Protectorate College for the sons of chiefs has met with encouraging success.

It is a fundamental principle of our policy in the Aden Protectorate that the Arab character of the country must be preserved. In this respect the Protectorate differs from the colony of Aden, which it adjoins. The colony is a small territory comprising the town and port of Aden; and, although the majority of its inhabitants are Arabs, it has long been a cosmopolitan community, in which Europeans, Indians, Jews, and Somalis mingle with the Arabs in friendly co-operation and a common loyalty to the British Crown and administration. The Protectorate, on the other hand, is recognized to be wholly Arab country. There is no intention on the part of the British Government to annex any part of it or to introduce any direct British administration. Our ambition and our hope are to produce in Southern Arabia an example of friendly and willing British and Arab co-operation, in which we give the best we can in the shape of advice and technical help without disturbing the national characteristics of the people. All efforts at reform are fated to meet with opposition from some quarters, and especially from those that are interested in the maintenance of old abuses, and our experience in the Aden Protectorate is no exception in this respect. On the whole, however, we have received a cordial, and often an eager, response. British officers working in Aden and the Protectorate have been rewarded not only with understanding and support, but also with liking and friendship that have bound them by personal ties to these Arabs, who have so much in common with the British in their individualism, their adventurousness, their humour, and their love of freedom. Now, when the Empire is at war and is passing through critical days, it is a pleasure and an encouragement to see the spontaneous loyalty and affection that have been displayed by the people of Aden reflected also in the Protectorate that we so long neglected but are now at last trying sincerely to befriend. In the towns and in remote villages in the mountains the people have gathered in their mosques to pray for British victory. Their friendship did not falter in the dark days of last summer, and now that victories have

CHAPTER X.

TO TERÎM, THE HOPE OF ALL ḤAḌRAMAUT.

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In the Qeᶜēṭī country, already, we heard the name of Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf invariably pronounced with respect, and here we have entered the land of his activity. Sayyid el-Kāf has placed his energy, his love, and all his possessions at the service of his country and of his people. His example is an impressive call to unity and to the setting aside of personal interests and susceptibilities for the general good. Schools, endowed and maintained by him, are scattered all over the country. The Qeᶜēṭī Sultans and Governors have them in their residences, and the influence of these little schools will slowly penetrate through the whole land. His other sensational enterprise, which may become of the greatest significance for the country's future, is the construction of a motor road from the Ḥaḍramaut valley to the coast. Although the road is not yet completed, its influence is already making itself felt. The most difficult *ᶜaqabas* have been conquered so that it is possible to bring cars into the valley of Ḥaḍramaut, though the transport of these is still expensive. There, where the first car passes, others will soon follow, and in a country where travelling is very tiring and very slow, the motor-car will be particularly appreciated. The Ḥaḍramīs who have been successful abroad do not lack money. The motor-car having arrived will not disappear again, and conditions within the borders of Ḥaḍramaut will be entirely changed thereby. The construction of roads in the valley itself has been started without delay, and drivers and mechanics have already found their way there.

721 The inconvenience of intertribal warfare makes itself felt more and more forcibly, but Sayyid Abū Bakr will be greatly

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24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

finished a stretch of three days by camel. Sayyid Abū Bakr foresees, nevertheless, much bickering with the Bedouins in the future and therefore is meditating upon the possibility of inaugurating an air service between Terīm and esh-Shiḥr. Since he saw British military aeroplanes manoeuvring above Terīm and heard what a deep impression those unknown, gigantic birds made on the Bedouins, the conviction has grown within him that the aeroplane would be the conclusive way of bringing the Bedouins under discipline and keeping them there. An aeroplane cannot be opposed with dagger and gun, the wādīs are no hindrance to it, and there is no spot on the barren *djōls* where one can escape the searching eye of the airman. Sayyid Abū Bakr considers that a single demonstration, to show the terrible effects wrought by a bomb dropped from one such aeroplane, would suffice to make an end to the Bedouin warfare, which has been going on for centuries, and that this would be the first step on the way towards the real advancement of the country. We advise them — although they know the Dutch Fokker aeroplanes in Java and the kindred type, the Junkers, in the Yemen, — to consult the British authorities at Aden and to procure the same type of aeroplane as is used by them.

On the afternoons of the ensuing days motor drives were made in the neighbourhood of Terīm, to show us the ground considered suitable for an aerodrome. My expert companion chooses the site indicated on the ground-plan of Terīm, eastward of el-Ḥāwī, of which only a small part would need levelling; it is close to and connected with the town, and is not so near to the precipitous mountain-wall as the other terrains under review. At the request of Sayyid Abū Bakr, Von Wissmann draws a sketch map of the proposed landing ground with its surroundings, to show to the Governor of Aden when consulting him as to whether the R. A. F. would allow their machines to land on such a ground. Our energetic friend, Sayyid Ḥasan el-ʿAṭṭās of Ḥurēḍa, has worked with the Junkers commission in the Yemen and will, eventually, be

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52) 1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Estimate of Livestock in 1952 231

	Western Protectorate	*Eastern Protectorate*
Camels	35,000	45,000
Cattle	60,000	8,000
Goats	500,000	355,000
Sheep	150,000	50,000
Donkeys	3,500	3,500

Most of the animals are kept by peasant farmers who depend on animal products for an important part of their diet. Away from the less settled areas pastoral, nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes own large numbers of livestock and depend on stock products for food and for sale and barter to obtain other requirements.

Towards the end of 1952 drought conditions affected the production and general condition of livestock. No serious animal disease was recorded during the year.

There is no separate Veterinary Department in the Protectorate but 647 232
the Director of Agriculture undertakes preventive measures to control important diseases such as rinderpest and horse-sickness.

A herd of Ongole (Nellore) cattle is maintained by the Abyan Board. It is proposed to test the productivity of this breed and the suitability of animals raised locally from the breed for draught purposes in Abyan.

FORESTRY

No true forest exists in the Protectorate. Trees and shrubs common 137
to arid regions in this latitude are found, while a dense growth of Tamarisk and Salvadora is found as "corridor forest" on the sides of the larger flood courses. Acacia is the most important species at all altitudes ; a semi-cultivated species of great value for timber and for honey-gathering bees is the Elb (*Ziziphus spina christi*).

A general dearth of forest products for timber, building materials 195 •
and for browse for livestock is apparent. In many parts of the Protectorate, and particularly in areas close to Aden, the coastal towns of the Eastern Protectorate, and the Hadhramaut towns, destruction of vegetation for charcoal production and for fuel has devastated large areas. So far no satisfactory measures have been taken to regenerate such areas. Large amounts of capital and firm action by local Governments are needed for this.

CO-OPERATION

The Beihan Farmers' Association, now in its fifth year, continued to 476
benefit the Beihan district. This Association provides its members with seed stocks and grain supplies on credit. At the end of the year the assets were estimated at £14,850 and liabilities at £8,779.

The Audhali-Kaur Farmers' Association has made moderate progress since its formation in 1950. It is primarily concerned with the organisation of vegetable production, transport and marketing for its members who farm with the aid of lift irrigation in the mid-altitude area of the "Audhali-Kaur".

N 212 185 658 in the Protectorate has recently been undertaken by the British authorities, while in some areas, particularly in the Qu'aiti Sultanate, schools are now supported by the local governments. Scattered primary and Koranic schools, and at least one postprimary school, are found in each of the protectorates. In the course of a medical survey H 212 565 in Western Aden Protectorate in 1939-40,[30] the degree of literacy was found to average 20 per cent among the men and practically zero among the women. The highest literacy rates were encountered among the Seiyids, a group recognized as the social and the religious leaders. H [873] A college for the sons of chiefs from Western Aden Protectorate is located at Aden.

Vital Statistics

A 659 163 165 Registration of births and deaths is compulsory in the Colony. In the 5 years 1946-50, the birth rate, calculated on the basis of the census returns for 1946, ranged from 26.6 to 31.7 per 1,000 population; the death rate, from 20.1 to 23.5 per 1,000 population. A 165 464 The significance of the mortality statistics is influenced adversely by the continuous movement of laborers between the Colony and their homes in Yemen and the Protectorate, and the influx of sick individuals from the interior to Aden hospitals, many of whom are in a seriously debilitated condition on arrival. In 1950, for example, the recorded deaths totaled 1,644, of which 511 were among nonresidents. The death rate, as reported, was 20.1 per 1,000 of the 1946 census population, but, eliminating the nonresident deaths, it is reduced to 14.2 per 1,000 population. Corrected to the estimated population for that year, the crude death rate figured at 16.4 per 1,000 and the resident rate at 11.3 per 1,000 population.

A 165 731 The infant mortality rate has declined appreciably within recent years. It had been less than 200 per 1,000 live births for several decades, but it reached a peak of 239 per 1,000 in 1943, when famine conditions prevailed throughout much of southwestern Arabia. The annual rates averaged 176 per

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East

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sequently return to their home settlements with their savings. Arabic is the language of the indigenous peoples, but Malay tongues are widely used in the towns of the Hadhramaut. Swahili, the *franca lingua* of East Africa, is understood throughout most of the area, while English is extensively employed in Aden proper. The majority of Arabs are Moslems, belonging to branches of the Sunni sect. Other religions are found chiefly among the different racial groups in the Colony and in the coast towns of the Protectorate.

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Education has made considerable progress in the Colony, and is gradually being introduced into the Protectorate. Primary schools for both sexes are supported by the government in the Colony, and by mission and private organizations. The Colonial authorities also operate secondary and vocational schools for boys. There are no post-secondary institutions, but government scholarships are available for the training of teachers and various professional personnel in the Anglo-Egytian Sudan or in the United Kingdom. The literacy rate among children of 6 to 12 years of age is estimated at 90 per cent, in contrast with 10 to 25 per cent in the general population. A program for the expansion of education

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